

On Recent Amendments of Constitution

Several months back the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha had passed the Constitution (Twenty fourth) Amendment Bill which by now has become part of the Constitution of India. Thereafter two more Bills—the Constitution (Twenty fifth) Amendment Bill and the Constitution (Twenty sixth) Amendment Bill—had been passed by Parliament. The Congress(R) and its new-found ally, the CPI, are waxing eloquent on the passage of these Bills calling them “historic” steps.

Link, which for all practical purposes is a CPI periodical, has observed as follows: “As soon as the 25th Amendment Bill becomes part of the Constitution, the way will be cleared for measures to end concentration of wealth, put a ceiling on property and incomes, extend the public sector in a big way and take the country rapidly forward in socialist direction.” The CPI(M) also “has every reason to be satisfied with” (*People’s Democracy* dated August 8 last) the measures, though its praise for the Union Government for all these Constitution-amending Bills is not as full-throated as the CPI’s. We feel that the matter should be discussed for proper evaluation of these measures.

What do these Bills provide? The Constitution (Twenty fourth) Amendment Bill, which has already become part of the Constitution, has restored to Parliament its power to amend the Constitution, including the Fundamental Rights as contained in the Constitution. It should be remembered that under the Constitution Parliament had this power and in the exercise of this power Parliament on more than one occasion did amend the Constitution, including the Fundamental Rights under the Constitution. The Law Courts too, not excluding the Supreme Court of India, had many times held that Parliament enjoyed this power. This was the position till the Supreme Court in the

Golaknath Case by a majority of one judge took away Parliament’s right and power to amend the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. It may be recalled that when judgment was delivered in the Golaknath Case, Subba Rao was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, that Subba Rao who contested in the Presidential election as a candidate sponsored by the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh. Thus, the 24th Constitution Amendment Bill, by restoring to Parliament its right and power to amend the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution, only restores the status quo ante, a right enjoyed by Parliament since when the Constitution was enacted. By what account then can the Constitution (Twenty fourth) Amendment Bill be called a “historic” step? And in what way had this right and power of Parliament to amend the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution been exercised by the ruling Congress Party in the post independence days? Certainly not for extending the fundamental democratic rights of the people of freedom of speech and expression, assembly and personal liberty and of forming associations. On the contrary, the right has been exercised more often than not in curtailing those rights increasingly in the name of putting “reasonable restrictions”. Our people have not yet forgotten that this right was exercised to amend the Constitution in order that

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

(Fortnightly)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL. 5
No. 9

1 JANUARY '72
SATURDAY

PRICE 20 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P

SUC’S Appeal For Formation of Left Democratic Front

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, has in a letter released to the Press, copies being sent to different left and democratic parties functioning in the state, appealed to the parties to come forward for forming a left democratic front in the interest of effectively meeting the mounting attacks by the Congress (R), particularly its Youth and Student wings, on the left and democratic parties and forces and developing legitimate democratic movements in West Bengal.

The letter, *inter alia*, contains the following:—
“Realising the necessity of developing united democratic movements, different left and democratic parties functioning in West Bengal, including our Party have for some time been attempting to explore the possibilities of uniting these parties and building a United Front of left and democratic parties. The attempts, however, have not yet borne fruit. It goes without saying that different parties have different explanations for this failure.

“But the prevailing situation in the state, when different reactionary forces, particularly the Congress (R) and its Youth and Student wings, are increasingly appearing as a serious threat government could enact laws like the Preventive Detention Act, the Essential Services Maintenance Act, the Prevention of Unlawful Activities Act, the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and a

to legitimate left and democratic movements in West Bengal, demands that without any further delay all the left and democratic parties here must unite to effectively meet this growing threat. We feel that other left and democratic parties also are feeling more and more concern at this growing menace,

“We, therefore, suggest that all the left and democratic parties in the state must sit together in order to devise ways and means to develop a left democratic United Front without any further delay. To facilitate its formation, if necessary, prior bilateral talks among the parties may be started.”

Com. Mukherjee has requested the CPI (M), CPI, Forward Bloc, RSP, RCPI (Kumar Group), RCPI, Socialist Party, Marxist Forward Bloc, Bolshevik Party and the Workers Party to let him know their views about this suggestion of the SUCI.

(Contd. to page 4)

Agrarian Policy of Cong. (R) Helps Capitalism

With the establishment of the present bourgeois national state in our country on 15th August, 1947, through compromise with the British imperialists, former rulers of India, the ruling Indian bourgeoisie has been following policies and adopting concrete measures for securing the freest, widest and speediest development of capitalism possible in the prevailing situation in every branch of the economy, including the agrarian sphere.

The land laws enacted in the post-independence days are directed towards that end. As a result of it, capitalist relations of production based on wage-labour have further developed in the land system of our country. The latest decennial census report published this year corroborates the truth of it.

The report has three break-up figures of the working population, namely, (1) cultivators, (2) agricultural labourers and (3) other workers. Here the term, 'cultivators', has been used very widely and includes within its ambit Bargadars, poor peasants, middle peasants and the rich capitalist farmers. So, naturally the census report does not give a correct idea about not only the changing conditions of different categories of peasants having different sizes of land holdings under them but also the actual number of the agricultural labourers. For, the allotment-

holding wage-workers with small patches of land in a state of utter ruin unable to maintain themselves without the sale of their labour-power, who are actually agricultural labourers, have not been shown as such but have been shown as 'cultivators' in the census report.

Thus, the census report, in so far as the actual number of agricultural labourers and their percentage in relation to the total working population are concerned, errs on the side of under-estimation. Nevertheless, in spite of this under-estimation, the latest census report clearly shows increase in the number of agricultural labourers in our country during the decade 1961-71, thereby establishing the fact that further development of capitalist relations of production in the land system of our country has taken place. The following table based on the census report proves it.

Table

Category	1961	1971	Difference
Cultivators	52.8 per cent	42.9 per cent	-9.9
Agricultural Labourers	16.7 per cent	25.7 per cent	+9.0
Other Workers	30.5 per cent	31.4 per cent	+0.9
Total—	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 'cultivators' have decreased by 9.9 per cent while agricultural labourers have increased almost by the same percentage, to be more precise, by 9 per cent. What does it signify? It signifies that thousands of Bargadars

(share-croppers) being evicted by the Jotedars from the lands they used to cultivate have become agricultural labourers and thousands and thousands of poor and lower middle peasants who would till their own lands have been

(Contd. to page 3)

By The Way

The *Indian Express* (issue dated November 29 last) reported that on March 31 last year the gross arrears of income tax and corporate taxes amounted to as much as Rs. 841 crores, an amount large enough to finance two big steel plants. So what! Should everything be judged by monetary standard? Is there nothing above money? You should not forget that in holding aloft the flag of democratic socialism in the "biggest democracy in the world" you cannot touch the democratic right of the millionaires and the companies controlled by them not to pay due taxes. Don't worry about state coffers. The poor people have the privilege of replenishing them.

The CPI(M) has become very angry with Biju Patnaik and his Utkal Congress. For, according to the *People's Democracy*, English organ of the Party (issue dated December 5 last), "Armed Utkal Congress goondas under the protection of the police are now openly moving around Berhampur", attacking R. K. Hostel and assaulting the SFI supporters. Biju should not forget that the other day at the time of the last three by-elections, success in one of which has resuscitated him from political oblivion, the CPI(M) was all out in praise of him and his Utkal Congress as progressive and contributed to his victory. And his men are now beating the CPI(M) men! Is this a proper way of paying returns? Should there be not a grain of gratitude? Really! What's the world is coming to!

The total value of private foreign investments in India is estimated at Rs. 1137 crores. The share of the USA increased from Rs. 11.2 crores in 1948 to Rs. 218.2 crores in 1963 and to Rs. 422 crores in 1968. 65 per cent of the total US investments here were in the manufacturing industries. In the manufacturing sector the profitability of US investments rose from 9.2 per cent in 1968 to 14.7 per cent in 1969 against a world-wide earning rate of US investments of 10.8 per cent. In other words, in 1969 the US imperialists reaped a profit of Rs. 40 crores, 13 lakhs and 10 thousands from the manufacturing industries alone in India. Who says the Congress (R) and the Union Government run by it allow foreign imperialists to fleece the Indian people? The above amount is just Maya.

The *Hindusthan Times* comments "Blessed are the twenty senior officers of the Maharashtra Government who are witnessing socialism in action. They will soon be joined by another twenty equally fortunate public servants. These forty people are Class I officers belonging to the IAS who are setting examples in higher living and still higher planning for a socialist society. The twenty officers have just moved into what is considered as the last word in Bombay's flat world—each of them will have five spacious rooms, four of them with attached bath-rooms, a large kitchen and balconies on Foreshore Road. The cost of the flats is not known, but each of the two buildings has cost the Government more than 20 lakhs." The poor class IV staff hardly gets even a tiny hovel but the top officers are provided with posh flats at government costs. You should not mind it. For, this is Garibi Hatao and democratic socialism in action.

Com. Chanda's Statement on Reorganisation of Management of Coaking Coal Mines

(By a Staff Reporter)

Dhanbad, December 15—The Custodian-General of the Organisation for Management of Coking Coal Mines under a recent order has revamped the Organisation. Ten Deputy Custodian-Generals have been appointed of whom four will be attached to the Head Quarters as staff officers and the rest six for their respective six areas.

Com. Prithvi Chanda, Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and President, Bihar Coal Miners' Union, has, in a statement, characterized this re-organisation as "an old wine in a new bottle" which is sure to fail in bringing the desired result. In the statement he has mentioned that "the custodian-general of the coking coal mines has made no arrangement as yet of assessing unit-wise, taking the organised labour into confidence, the total amount of dues payable to the workers of these mines in arrear on account of non-implementation or part-implementation of wage board recommendations and/or non-payment of due wages, due over-time allowance, due bonus, etc., etc., not to speak of making

arrangements for their actual payments. Nor has the custodian-general removed those officers who earned notoriety in corrupt practices and anti-working class outlook, behaviour and activities when the mines were privately managed. The new custodians do not enjoy confidence of the coal mine workers in the area." In conclusion, Com. Chanda has "urged upon the workers in the coal mines to close up their ranks and prepare themselves for an organised sustained movement so that the coking coal mines, whose management has been taken over by the government, function properly and the legitimate demands of the workers are met without delay."

Agrarian Policy of Congress (R)

(Contd. from page 2)

compelled to sell their lands and become agricultural labourers. And where have their lands gone? They have been concentrated in the hands of the rich peasants, Jotedars. This is the actual outcome of the agrarian policy of the Congress governments, and of the Congress (R) promise to give land to the poor peasants and reduce the disparity in income between the rich and the poor. In fact, the rich peasants, Jotedars have grabbed the lands of the poor peasants and the disparity in income has increased.

'Other workers' in the above table include those who are employed otherwise than

as agricultural labourers. They include industrial, transport, banking, insurance, shops and establishments, government office, etc. workers. The percentage in this case has increased by 0.9. For all practical purposes the position here can be considered static, showing thereby that progress in employment for industrial, transport, banking and so many other sources of employment than agriculture during the decade 1961-71 is almost nil. It speaks of the stagnant position of our capitalist economy and a volume of anti-people character of the economic policies and planning of the Congress (R) and the Congress (R) governments.

Assam D. S. O. Struggles for Recognition of Students' Right

(By a Staff Reporter)

Gauhati, December 15—A strong movement by the students of Industrial Training Institutes (I.T.I.) in the state of Assam is developing under the leadership of the All India Democratic Students Organisation, Assam Branch, on the demand of the recognition of the students' right to form unions in such Institutes.

It is known that in Assam there are quite a large number of Industrial Training Institutes. Unlike in universities and colleges, the students of these Institutes are not entitled to form student unions in their respective Institutes and have a say in matters curricular and extra-curricular. Against this gross denial of democratic right of the students the D.S.O., Assam Branch, has been organising the students of these Institutes for a sustained movement. A state convention of such students had been held at Gauhati a few days back.

In the face of the growing movement by the students the authorities of the Industrial Training Institutes requested

the leaders of the D. S. O. to submit a draft constitution of the students unions to be formed and other proposals connected with the matter. The D. S. O., Assam Branch, had submitted the same.

In view of the State of Emergency declared by the President of India the students have given some more time to the authorities to consider their proposals and the draft constitution. It is expected that the movement will be a grand success, provided that the students maintain their fighting unity and keep their powder dry for further more intense movements, if necessary. This movement has popularised greatly the D. S. O. among the students in the state.

Annual Gift of Rs. 2.5 Crores to the Birlas

Lucknow, December 10—It is reported that the State Government headed by Mr. Tripathi has proposed to give to the Birla's Hindusthan Aluminium Corporation, popularly known as Hindal Co., 50 MW of power in addition to the 55 MW granted to it at 5.6 paise less than the generation cost under a 25-year agreement executed by the Sampurnanand Government with the Hindal Co. on October 29, 1959.

Under this agreement the Company is already drawing 55 MW of electric power from the Rihand Hydel Project at 1.9 paise a unit when the present grid generation cost comes to 7.5 paise a unit. According to a reliable source the State Electricity Board is incurring an annual loss of about Rs one crore for this supply of power at concessional rate to the Birla's Company on an average. Now if the proposed additional supply of 50 mw is given then, in all

probability, the total loss would be not less than Rs 2.5 crores in view of higher cost of generation per unit for the additional supply.

It should be noted that when ordinary consumers are paying through their noses ever-increasing cost of electricity and sur-charge per unit, this gift of Rs 2.5 crores to the Birlas at a heavy loss to public exchequer by the Congress (R) Government in the state is something

(Contd. to page 8)

Economic Foundation of Fascism

(Contd. from page 1)

host of such other black laws which have strengthened the armoury of oppressive legislative measures brought into being by the Congress and the Congress(R), as the case may be, in the post-independence period to forcibly crush legitimate democratic mass movements in country. It is for this reason that even many liberal bourgeois lawyers had commented bitterly that under Congress regime civil liberty had been the first casualty. Is there any guarantee then that the right and power of Parliament to amend the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution will not be similarly exercised by the ruling Congress(R) Party in further curtailing the fundamental democratic rights of our people of freedom of speech, expression, assembly, demonstration and association, particularly in view of the fact that the Congress(R) has availed itself of the first opportunity of its brute majority in the present Lok Sabha not for bringing in any legislative measure to ameliorate the increasing distress and appalling poverty of common men in our country but in providing for preventive detention without trial of citizens? In the light of our past experience of Congress rule and even of Congress(R) rule, violent repression of legitimate democratic mass movements in various states, sadistic police oppression of workers, peasants, students and youths, shameful deliberate murders of under-trial prisoners and persons detained without trial in jails and mounting violent attacks by the storm-troopers of the Congress(R), its Youth and Student wings on the workers of left and democratic parties and forces in West Bengal, to mention only a few, it can be said with certainty that with our people compelled to conduct more intense struggles against mounting attacks on their

living and working conditions, their democratic rights and gains secured by them through hard struggles by the ruling bourgeoisie, there will be more ruthless oppression on them by the government and the ruling party. It is for this reason that the Congress(R) and the Union Government refused to accept an amendment to the 24th Constitution Amendment Bill demanding that the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression, right to assemble, right to form association, and right to personal liberty of the people should not be curtailed. This refusal is enough indication to give an idea of the things to come. This being the reality, the Constitution (Twenty fourth) Amendment Bill augurs not a sunny dawn but clears the path for taking fascistic measures and Social-Democratic programmes and measures by the ruling Congress(R) party and the governments run by it in consolidating its oppressive rule.

Now about the Constitution (Twentyfifth) Amendment Bill. This Bill also, like the 24th Amendment Bill, restores the status quo as it existed before the Supreme Court by its judgment in the Bank Nationalisation Case made compensation for property acquired by the State justiciable and extended the scope of reasonableness of the amount of compensation to make it co-terminus with market value of the property so acquired as also to cover the manner of its payment. The decision by the Supreme Court in the Bank Nationalisation Case reversed its earlier decision in the Shantilal Mangaldas Case and other decisions where the Court had generally interpreted clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution of India, which provides for payment of compensation when a property is acquired by the State, to mean that the adequacy or inadequacy of

the amount of compensation to be paid was not justiciable except where the compensation was illusory or the legislative exercise was a "fraud on the Constitution." The 25th Amendment Bill only restores the status quo ante by making Parliament a final arbiter to determine the amount of compensation and the manner of its payment. The Union Law Minister, Mr. H. R. Gokhale, himself has clearly admitted that the 25th amendment Bill restores only the status quo ante. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, also has assured in the most unambiguous terms that "the right to private property is not in danger and will not be abolished." How then can the 25th Amendment Bill be hailed as a "historic step" taking "the country rapidly forward in a socialist direction"? It cannot be so hailed by one unless one is infatuated with the passion of playing the role of a drum-boy of the Congress(R). Till the Supreme Court decision in the Bank Nationalisation Case the amount of compensation and the manner of its payment were not justiciable. But even then the amounts of compensation paid by the Congress governments for abolishing intermediary rights in land and acquiring zamindaries, were not just minimal; they were, on the contrary, huge amounts. Nor did the measures acquiring such properties lead the country forward in socialist direction; rather, they laid the foundation stone for the relatively freest, widest and speediest development of capitalism in the land system of our country. The compensations paid for taking over the Imperial Bank of India, the life insurance industry, etc. were not small either. Nationalisation of these industries did not push the country in the direction of socialism also. Rather these measures paved the way for economic foundation of fascism in our

country. So, it will be naive to expect that the Congress(R) and the Union Government run by it, after the 25th Amendment Bill becomes part of the Constitution, will pay token amount as compensation for any property acquired by the State.

And as far as the wish that the Bill will clear the way "for measures to end concentration of wealth, put a ceiling on property and income, extend the public sector in a big way and take the country rapidly forward in a socialist direction" is concerned, the less said, the better. For, the wish is as unreal as building castles in the air; it is all illusion meant to bamboozle the the unconscious masses of the people into taking pro-Congress(R) stand when pro-people politics demand them to be determinedly organised to wage mighty democratic mass movements against the Congress(R), main enemy of the people in the prevailing situation, for the realisation of their just democratic demands. Under capitalism concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, the monopolists, is sure to take place. It has taken place in other capitalist countries. It has taken place in our country as well. If, by making the amount of compensation for acquiring property and the manner of paying it non-justiciable, concentration of wealth and property in the hands of a few could be checked then the Tatas, Birlas and others of their class would not have succeeded in amassing fabulous wealth and vast properties in the post-independence period. For, till the other day, before the Supreme Court decision in the Bank Nationalisation Case that was the legal position, as already stated. Besides, restoration of the status quo as it existed before the Supreme Court decision in the Bank Nationalisation Case, which the Constitution (Twentyfifth) Amendment Bill seeks to do, is no guarantee that the ruling Congress(R) party and the Union

Abolition of Privy Purse—hoax to the People

Government run by it would nationalise in a big way the industries owned and controlled by the Tatás, Birlas and such other tycoons in whose hands has concentrated more than 80 percent of the total wealth and property in India. If past history of the Congress rule is any indication of its future course of actions then it can be safely said without any fear of being contradicted that the Congress (R) and the Union Government headed by Mrs. Gandhi presumably are not going to nationalise the existing industries controlled by the monopolists and extend the state sector in economy in a big way. Furthermore, it should also be borne in mind that nationalisation and state-ownership of industries under capitalism is not taking the country in socialist direction. We have discussed this matter many times before and, so, we do not like to dilate on this point here in detail. We simply want to state that under capitalism nationalisation of industries only serves the aggregate interests of monopoly capitalism in the country concerned, brings about coalescence of private monopoly capital with state capital and thereby gives birth to state monopoly capitalism, rock bottom foundation stone of fascism.

We request the CPI(M) and the CPI workers to carefully note what Engels had said about nationalisation and state-ownership of industries under capitalism. Engels said: ".....state ownership does not do away with the capitalist nature of the productive forces. ** The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of the productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-

workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head." This bringing to a head of the capitalist relation is nothing but the laying of economic foundation stone of fascism. Judged in the light of this observation of Engels does not the characterisation of bank nationalisation in our country by the CPI(M) leadership as "a big event" (*People's Democracy* dated August 3, 1969), "a step in the right direction" (*People's Democracy* dated August 17, 1969) or a "forward measure" "setting" in motion the process of mass radicalization and the new mass polarization" (*People's Democracy* dated November 9, 1969) tantamount to complete renunciation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian class position? The CPI(M) workers should ponder over it. And as far as the CPI is concerned, it is out-doing the Congress (R) itself in painting the Union Government headed by Mrs. Gandhi as progressive.

Thus, there is nothing to be elated over the Constitution (Twentyfifth) Amendment Bill. Rather, a class-conscious worker will find in it a drive by the ruling bourgeoisie in our country to remove the obstacles in the path of adopting Social-Democratic programmes and measures in the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly Capitalism in order to further consolidate its class rule along fascistic road.

Now let us take up for examination the Constitution (Twentysixth) Amendment Bill. This Bill seeks to abolish privy purses and other privileges of the former Rajas and Maharajas. From the discussion of the Bill in Parliament by the Union Law Minister, Mr. H. R. Gokhale, it is absolutely clear that the former Rajas and Maharajas would be paid sufficient

compensation for the abolition of privy purses and other privileges now enjoyed by them. See what a progressive piece of legislation is this 26th Amendment Bill! And yet Mrs. Gandhi has not hesitated to describe it as "another step towards creation of an egalitarian society." Is it not a fact that the root cause of the grinding poverty and other unbearable miseries of common men in our country is the present capitalist order? Is it also not a fact that a truly egalitarian society can be established here only if the existing exploiting capitalist order is replaced by a socialist order free from all sorts of exploitation of man by man? Does not this social change envisage and presuppose overthrow of the ruling bourgeois class from power, expropriation of the wealth and property of the capitalists and conversion of the means of production into socially owned property, replacement of the capitalist relations of production based on wage-labour by socialist relations of production based on social ownership of the means of production and change of the motive force of production from production for maximum profit as obtains under capitalism to production for even-rising social consumption? Does the 26th amendment Bill make any move in the direction of any of these preconditions for the establishment of a truly egalitarian society? No, certainly not. The Bill deals with a very small matter abolition of which is long over-due but which has been kept alive by the undivided Congress as also by the Congress(R) for about twenty-four years as means to bribe the former Rajas and Maharajas so that they support the Congress and the Congress(R). Only when the Rajas and Maharajas backed the old leaders of the Congress, who afterwards

constituted the Congress(O), in the latter's fight for leadership against Mrs. Indira Gandhi, did the Congress(R) and the Union Government run by it think of abolition of privy purses and other privileges of former princes to teach the latter a lesson for going against the Congress(R). So, for the 26th Amendment Bill the Congress(R) and the Union Government headed by Mrs. Gandhi cannot legitimately claim any praise or appreciation. They, on the contrary, deserve severe criticism for not bringing it much earlier as well as for conspiring behind the back of the people (as on the body of the Bill there is no provision for compensation) to make payment of huge amounts to the former Rajas and Maharajas as compensation for abolition of their privy purses and other privileges.

But what account for bringing in these amendments to the Constitution now, particularly after the Congress (R) came into being and captured the governmental power at the Centre and in most of the states? The general elections in 1967 saw ignominious defeat of the Congress in most of the states. The strength of the Congress in the Lok Sabha also was greatly reduced. The leaders of the Congress, who later formed the Congress (R), saw signs of danger in it, danger of increasing indignation of the Indian people against the Congress for its naked anti-people policies and activities and, consequently its continuous isolation from the common men of the country. They, therefore, felt the necessity of putting on a radical cloak in order that the politically unconscious masses of the people could be confused, a false image of progressiveness about the Congress (R) created in their mind, lost ground retrieved

Contd. to page 8)

POSITION OF EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment among educated persons in our country has of late assumed alarming proportions. This will be evident from figures of unemployed matriculates, under-graduates, graduates and post-graduates arrived at according to National Sample Surveys.

The number of unemployed matriculates and under-graduates was approximately, according to the Survey, 3 lakhs 7 thousands in 1953; 9 lakhs 52 thousands in 1963 and 27 lakhs 46 thousands in 1970. In other words, while unemployment among matriculates and under-graduates increased by 6 lakhs 45 thousands during a period of ten years from 1953 to 1963, it increased by 17 lakhs 94 thousands during the subsequent shorter period of seven years from 1963 to 1970.

In case of graduates and under graduates the picture is equally grim. Unemployed graduates and post-graduates numbered about 93 thousands in 1953, 88 thousands in 1963 and 4 lakhs 32 thousands in 1970. Thus, while during the ten years ending in 1963 the number was less by 5 thousands the subsequent seven years saw an increase of 3 lakhs 44 thousands.

Unemployment among engineers and engineering diploma-holders is no less acute. In 1968 the number of engineering degree and diploma holders was 3 lakhs 32 thousands of whom 56 thousand 700 persons were unemployed. According to an official estimate, the anticipated number of engineering degree and diploma holders in 1973 would be about 4 lakhs 85 thousands against which estimated demand on the basis of income and investment projections made in the Fourth Plan is placed at 3 lakhs 84 thousands. The number of unemployed engineers will, thus become 1 lakh, 1 thousand, i.e., about 21 per cent of the total

number of engineers at the end of the Fourth Plan.

It is true that unemployment is the concomitant curse of capitalism, particularly present-day capitalism lacking even the relative stability of market which world capitalist economy used to enjoy till the second world war and, consequently, showing increasing tendency of decay and stagnation. But nevertheless some palliatives can very well be adopted even under capitalism to lessen the growing intensity of the problem. Other capitalist countries are doing it. Have the ruling Congress (R) party and the Congress (R) governments done anything in this regard? Prof. M.R. Hazaray, who by no means can be called a leftist agitator, has given reply to this question in the following words—"Colossal figures of unemployment hit the headlines every day in the Press. On the other hand there is a talk of employment-oriented banking, employment-oriented planning, etc. on the political platform....every Government Minister today expresses a grave concern about the rising level of unemployment but hardly any one does anything significant about it. The other day there appeared a front-page news that not a single paisa was utilised out of Rs. 25 crores earmarked in this year's budget exclusively for the creation of job opportunities among the educated unemployed in this country." (*Hindusthan Standard* dated December 9 last) How long will our people allow themselves to be cheated by "progressive plumage" of the Congress(R)?

Orissa School of Politics

(By a Staff Reporter)

Cuttack, December 15—Under the auspices of the All India Democratic Students Organisation, Orissa Branch, a school of politics was held on 11th, 12th and 13th December last. The school was conducted by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, leader, teacher and General Secretary of the SUCI. About 120 student workers and about 20 workers of the Party (as fraternal delegates) attended the school. They were from Balasore, Cuttack, Kionjhar, Sambalpur, Mayurbhanj, Ganjam, Puri and Sundargarh (Rourkela area) districts of the state.

The school discussed among others, dialectical and historical materialism, international situation, and organisational matters.

The discussion on national situation included, among others, the significance of the transfer of power on 15th August, 1947, character of the existing Indian state, the stage of our revolution, its strategy and tactics, the necessity of united front politics now, the principle and code of conduct that should govern the functioning within the united front, cause of present cultural and moral degradation among the people in general and the students and youths in particular, the

connection of this increasing cultural and moral degeneration and purposeless desperation with the growing influence of parties like the Congress (R), the CPI (M), the CPI, the character of these parties, increasing tendencies of fascization in the country, the necessity of strengthening the SUCI by all means, the necessity of organising the general students under the banner of the DSO, etc. etc.

The school has helped a lot in the development of ideological consciousness of those who attended it and enthused the general students greatly.

Letter to the Editor

Sir.

Through your columns I desire to place certain facts before the public and public leaders regarding a case of victimisation. Shri Mohilal is an old and broken man serving under Central Fuel Research Institute, Jealgora, Dhanbad. His wife is an indoor patient in Ranchi Mental Hospital and his daughter an indoor patient in Sindri Hospital. His other children are staying in Jealgora. On grounds of the above distressing situation, Shri Mohilal repeatedly

Is it not high time that they tear off to pieces the radical cloak put on by the Congress (R) to befool the downtrodden people of India and publicly expose its real character? That should be done by our people.

represented to the Director for his transfer back to Jealgora from Nagpur where he was transferred in 1965. But at long last he has been transferred not to Jealgora but to Raniganj. Further representations have been outright rejected. It is said that Shri Mohilal is being penalised for his supposed support years ago to a lawful union activity. Shri Mohilal is not only a broken man but also a poor man who can hardly procure railfares for constant trips to Head Qrs. where his children are staying and for looking after his sick daughter in neighbouring Sindri Hospital. I appeal to the public and public leaders to judge this case.

(P. C. Ghosh)

General Secretary

C S I R—Scientific Workers' Association

Resolution of Union Labour Ministry Rejected by Workers Representatives

(By a Staff Reporter)

New Delhi, December 16—The Union Labour Ministry today convened here a meeting of the representatives of organised labour and employees' organisations in the country to arrive at some agreement on how the workers and the employers together could contribute to increased production in the interests of defence efforts.

On the workers' side were present in the meeting representatives from different Central Trade Union Organisations, including the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), and some federations of trade unions of Central Government employees and Port and Dock workers. The employers were represented by various organisations of theirs. Comrades Subodh Banerjee and Fatick Ghosh, Vice-President and Secretary respectively of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) represented the Organisation.

In passing, it may be mentioned that a meeting for similar purpose was convened on December 6 last, when some Central Trade Union Organisations and federations of trade unions were left out, making the meeting a non-representative one. Thursday's meeting was called to remove this shortcoming and make it representative. The meeting on December 6 last adopted a resolution which unfortunately made no reference to the freedom struggle in Bangladesh and the necessity of helping and furthering it by all means. This gross defect in the resolution was pointed out by Com. Subodh Banerjee in the meeting on December 16 last and he demanded that the meeting must pledge all out support to the freedom struggle in Bangladesh and the defect in the resolution rectified.

In the meeting on December 16 on behalf of the Union Labour Ministry a resolution for adoption by the meeting was tabled. The resolution was a carbon-copy of the Industrial Truce

Resolution adopted in 1962. The workers' representatives *en bloc* rejected the resolution so tabled by the Union Labour Ministry and were not ready to go beyond what were contained in the earlier resolution adopted on December 6 subject to the above correction proposed by Com. Banerjee. The employers' representatives in view of this united stand of the trade union representatives agreed to accept it.

In agreeing with other trade union leaders Com. Banerjee maintained that the smoothness of production depended on the attitude of the management and not so much on the workers. With the management victimising workers for just and lawful trade union activities, making *en masse* retrenchment and lay off of workers, refusing to implement agreements and awards and even reducing wages when prices of essential commodities were soaring almost daily, workers could not be expected to give their best and increase production even though they favoured the increase. He among others, suggested that the 2400 and odd industrial units which were now closed should be opened, their workers who had lost their employment due to such closure should be reinstated and the work restarted (if need be by taking over their management and control under the amended Regulation of Industries Act) and that during the period there should be no victimisation, moratorium should be declared on lay off, retrenchment, discharge and suspension and unfair labour

General Council Meeting of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani)

(By a Staff Reporter)

Calcutta, December 27—A meeting of the General Council of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was held here on December 25 and 26 last. The meeting was presided over by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, President of the Organisation and attended by members from Assam, Bihar, Haryana, Kerala, Orissa, U.P., West Bengal and Delhi.

The Council considered the question of holding the next all-India conference of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and, in view of various difficulties in the way of holding an early conference, decided to hold it in November next in West Bengal. It requested the different State units to hold their respective State conferences by the second week of June 1972.

The Council selected Com. Sudhin Pramanick, General Secretary of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), as its representative to attend the Conference of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR to be held on 20th March, 1972 in Moscow.

practice like playing one union against another, backing employer-sponsored union, refusal to recognise the representative union, etc. should be stopped. In illustrating the hostile attitude of some employers who were out to exploit the present State of Emergency declared by the President in carrying on unfair labour practice, Com. Banerjee referred to the case of Hindustan Iron and Steel Co. in West Bengal where the employer had declared more than 500 workmen surplus and refused to employ them after being forced to lift the unreasonably declared closure and still been demanding increase in production.

The consensus of the meeting was that a small committee would be formed which would draft the resolution in the line of the discussions in the meeting.

The Council called on all its units to observe 17th January, 1972 as an all-national day against unemployment and retrenchment by bringing out processions and holding rallies, factory-gate meetings and other forms of mass demonstrations. It also decided to organise without delay united movements against attacks on civil liberties, rise in prices of essential commodities, etc.

The General Council in a resolution stressed the essential necessity of forging trade union unity and developing united movements against mounting attacks by the capitalists and the governments on the living and working conditions and hard-won democratic rights of the working class in our country. It called upon the workers to remain alert, foil the conspiracies of the reactionary and communal parties and forces to disrupt the unity of the people and maintain communal amity.

In a resolution on Bangladesh the Council expressed firm solidarity with the people of Bangladesh, hailed them for their historic victory in the armed liberation struggle against the hated military regime of Yahya Khan, welcomed recognition of the People's Republic of Bangladesh by the Government of India and urged upon the governments of all the democratic and socialist countries in the world to recognise the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Call to the Indian People

(Contd. from Page 5)

and the Congress (R) could be politically rehabilitated among the masses. This so-called radical posture demanded so-called radical slogans to be thrown and Social-Democratic plans, programmes and measures adopted by the Congress (R) and the governments run by it. Economically also necessity was being increasingly felt by this so-called radical section of the ruling bourgeoisie representing aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism to adopt Social-Democratic plans, programmes and measures in order that the crisis-ridden chaos-discredited capitalist economy of the country could be eased to some extent and the aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism could be served in the best way possible in the circumstances. They did not fail to see that in the prevailing situation "Social-Democratism is the last prop of capitalism", as commented by the beloved leader and teacher of our Party, Com. Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day.

But the judges could not visualise this necessity of the ruling Indian bourgeoisie. Their conservative outlook and decisions frustrated many Social-Democratic plans, programmes and measures intended by the ruling bourgeoisie to be implemented in the economic field. The decision by the Supreme Court in the Bank Nationalisation Case completed the chain of judicial pronouncements witnessed by the country during a period of about one decade and a half striking down many legislative measures sponsored by the Government in the aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism in favour of individual interests of the monopolists. Hence, was the cry raised from the Congress(R) quarters for committed judiciary, for judges commi-

tied to Social-Democratic plans, programmes and measures which the Congress (R) intends to legislate in the aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism. Hence, the Union Law Minister himself is found to comment "lawyers are two generations behind and judges are three generations behind society." But in spite of these veiled admonitions by the Congress (R) rulers when the judges refused to be "committed", the former found no other alternative than to amend the Constitution and compel the judges to "behave".

Before we conclude we again request our readers to bear in mind that law and legal system is the super-structure of the economy which is the basis of society. Indian society being capitalist, here law and legal system fundamentally serve only one purpose, namely, to consolidate the existing capitalist system and further strengthen it. The recent amendments to the Constitution also serve this very capitalist purpose. They are a drive by the ruling bourgeoisie of our country to remove the obstacles created by judicial decisions in the path of adopting Social-Democratic plans, programmes and measures in the aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism in order to consolidate and further strengthen its class rule and the capitalist order along the road of fascism. This situation behoves on our people to be more politically conscious, more determined, more organised and more sacrificing in order that they can develop massive movements against reaction and vested interests, check the march of the country along fascistic road, accelerate the process of struggle for radical transformation of society and hasten their ultimate emancipation from all sorts of exploitation, economic, political, social and cultural.

Massive Anti-US Demonstration of Youths and Students

(By a Staff Reporter)

A massive demonstration of youths and students, about 10,000 strong, organised by the West Bengal branches of the All India DSO and All India DYO, came out at Calcutta on December 18 last to protest against the presence of the US Seventh Fleet in Bay of Bengal as also to express solidarity with the people of Bangladesh.

The demonstrators shouted anti-US imperialist slogans and burnt effigies of President Nixon and General Yahya Khan in front of the USIS.

Earlier a rally was held at Raja Subodh Mallick Square presided over by Com. Prativa Mukherjee, former UF Minister in West Bengal. The rally was addressed by the President, Com. Chhaya Mukherjee, Secretary, West

Bengal branch of All India DSO, and Com. Abdur Rouf, Vice-President, West Bengal branch of DYO. Com. Gop Kanjilal addressed the demonstrators before the USIS.

The demonstrators marched to Bangladesh Mission in Calcutta and handed over to Mr. Hossain Ali a copy of the resolution adopted at the rally.

Bangla Chhatra League Condemns Genocide

Al-Mijaheedy, President of Bangla Chhatra League has unequivocally condemned, in a statement issued on 28th Dec, 71, the criminal acts of murders of the intellectuals in Dacca by "the defecting Pakistani army."

He said: "We express our grave concern over the delay to set Sheikh Mujibar

Rahaman free. That will only inflame the 75 million people of Bangladesh to disastrous consequences. The conspirators concerned should mind that any manoeuvring to open a bargain with Sheikh Mujib will never fructify this design. Mujib must be released forthwith and he must be released unconditionally".

Rising Prices of Essential Commodities Com. Sarkar's Statement

Com. Hiren Sarker, a veteran SUCI leader in a statement has urged upon the people in the steel town, particularly the working class, to come forward and resist the soaring prices of essential commodities through organised mass movements and demanded of the governments, of the State and at the Centre, to take strong measures against hoarders, speculators and black-marketeers, break the chain of a section of the police with the under-world of hoarders and black-marketeers in active co-operation of the people and different left and

democratic parties functioning in the State and bring down prices of daily necessities of life.

Gift to the Birlas

(Contd. from page 3)

abnormal and has naturally caused not only resentment but also suspicion about some under-hand arrangements between the Congress (R) and the Birlas in public mind. This glaring instance of the close liaison between the ruling Congress and the tycoons in the country ought to serve as an eye-opener about the Congress (R) to the people.